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of the moiety system automatically forbids a man to have sex relations with his mother, sisters, grandmother, mother's sister, parallel cousins, all of whom belong to his moiety. His daughter, who is of a different moiety, is also made taboo to him, although there is no ritual surrounding the prohibition. The making of the female cross-cousin, (term 14) of his own generation and of a different moiety taboo to him completes the elimination of sexual interest towards those women with whom a man mingles in his workaday life. On the other hand, the selection of two people, the daughters of cross-cousins (see term 11), as preferred mates, gives sexual interest a specific place. Sex interest is thus theoretically localized and centred instead of being diffused. This might make for an efficiency in work, since it is difficult to mingle numerous erotic interests which are obsessive and distractive with practical affairs, such as the gardening and fishing of everyday life. However, the fact that these incest taboos are occasionally broken shows that desires cannot always be held in check by a kinship system and its rules. But speaking broadly, the system works.

The extension of the family relationships into the broader circles of clan and moiety forms this kinship system, the axis about which the social life of the individual revolves. To some relatives he will have economic responsibilities; to some he will be affectionate, while to others he may not talk; some women are forbidden to him, while others are potential mates. And so his life moves through the pattern spun by the kinship system.

SEX

The two major groupings based on locality and kinship have been described. There remains the third manner in which the society is divided, on lines of sex. In much of

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the social life of the community the men function as units apart from the women. One outward manifestation of masculine solidarity is the men's house, their club-house, which the women may not enter. Most of the feasts are also purely masculine affairs. The dances, too, maintain the social division of the sexes. For months before a rite the women will rehearse every night at one end of the village, while the men practise their dance at the other end. On the day of the ritual event the same sex distinction is maintained in the dancing. (This rule is broken on a few occasions.) In the general social life of the community, whether that be the hamlet or village, it is the women who meet to cook, to gossip, and to dance, while the men come together to fish, to eat, to talk, to dance, and also to gossip. In the family life, except in the case of taboo relatives, the sexes mingle freely in their social intercourse. But in the social life of the community the two keep quite apart.

Thus, an individual born into this society becomes automatically a member of various groups. His sex will determine one group; he will inherit his clan and moiety from his mother; his place of residence (house, hamlet, and village) will depend upon where his parents live. This grouping will influence him for the rest of his life.

While the infant is a member of all these groups at birth, they do not all begin to function at the same time. At birth, certain close relatives surround him, and it is from these that he obtains the first impressions of the world. Gradually this group is enlarged until it includes his whole immediate family, then the clan, and finally the moiety. In the same way, as he grows older, he becomes aware of a community larger than his household. When he can crawl about, the hamlet becomes his playground, and later, as a child, he roams through the village. As an adult he will go to near-by villages for ritual events, particularly those in which members of his own clan are concerned. But he

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will not, as a rule, wander far away, to a distant village where another language is spoken, unless he goes on business for the white man. His entrance into his own sex group will come gradually. The life of a very young male infant does not differ from that of a female.

The elements of the social organization have been briefly described. But this social structure does not exist in a vacuum, but only through the individuals living in it. Any functional study will show the individual actually living in the particular configuration known as his society. Since this configuration is plastic, every individual does not receive quite the same impress from it. There are variations, and it is these which must be noted in a truly functional study. An analysis which does not take into account the elasticity of the configuration cannot be said to approach reality.

In the succeeding chapters an attempt is made to portray the Lesu people as they are living to-day. Each member of the village will not react to his cultural environment in exactly the same manner as his neighbour does, and the pattern of behaviour will not always be logical or consistent.

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881 778 12. *November 18th.*—Feast by the men in enclosure on the occasion of the removal of red paint from the hair of the eight boys.

13. *January 25th.*—Final rites and feast for the *malanggans*, after which they are destroyed.[1]

INTERPRETATION

881 778 562 Several points in the initiation rites should be considered. First, there are the different roles played by the women *versus* the men, and by the clan relatives *versus* the parents, and the role of the whole community. Prior to the circumcision, the women of the village and the neighbouring villages rehearsed their dances every night and played the dominant ritual roles. We saw them fight the men who were taking their boys away from them, and we were told that all the women were dancing in sympathy with the mothers who were losing the boys. The symbolism of these women's rites is apparently very conscious. The men, except in their fight with the women, took no part in the rites preceding the circumcision. When the boys come out from their seclusion the roles are reversed. Now the men of all the neighbouring villages come and perform their dances on this occasion. These two days of excitement and dancing have their climax on the second night in a dance by the women (mothers and other relatives) of the hamlet from which the boys come, which ends in sexual promiscuity. It would seem that the dancing of the last two days would naturally lead to a heightening of the emotions, which in turn leads to the promiscuity.[2] This might also symbolize the reuniting of

[1] All of the above rites were witnessed, except the making of taro magic (made before my arrival), which was later observed in another connection.

[2] The admonitions during rehearsals to dance well because the members of the opposite sex will later be their audience and the vaunting display by the men before the women at a "dress" rehearsal should all be remembered in this connection.

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the two sexes after their separation in the preliminary rites. The unusualness of the women dancing within the enclosure of the men's house, which ordinarily they do not enter, adds to the unconventionality of the occasion. Perhaps it is by stepping outside the rules of the society that the occasion is made more significant. The period of continence following the promiscuity also contributes to the significance of the event.

The women have been a unit apart from the men, opposing the circumcision of the boys and expressing their sorrow in the dance. The men have taken the boys from their mothers, and at the end of the period of seclusion have welcomed them by the dance and by the *malanggan* rites into the masculine society. The *malanggans*, it must be remembered, are the most important ritual objects of the society and taboo to the women. It is therefore quite fitting that they be displayed on this occasion.

It has been noted that the parents and clan relatives play different roles, and how the relationship of the boys to their clan relatives is stressed at this time. It is the clan relatives who get the betel-nut and *tsera* from the members of the opposite moiety. It is particularly the maternal uncle who has featured in the rites. It is he who contributes much of the wealth necessary to hold the rites. His relationship is stressed again when his wife, and not the mother of the boy, has the opportunity of making a speech of either praise or blame about her husband.

And yet while the father does not have such an important ritual role, he is not unimportant, for it is the father and the maternal uncle who walk affectionately and encouragingly with the boy just before he enters the enclosure, and it is also the father who holds the boy during the painful operation. The relationship to the father is also emphasized when the boys come out of the enclosure and

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CHAPTER V

MARRIAGE

562 858 THE first ritual event for the girl after she has passed her infancy is at the beginning of puberty. During the first two or three years of her life she is the pet of the community and the *raison d'être* for many rites and feasts. But during her childhood she is no longer the centre of attention, and instead lives on the edge of the adult world, listening to its conversations, imitating the dances, watching her mother scrape the taro, and later doing her share in the cooking. When her brothers and the other young boys of the village are circumcised there are elaborate rites, but they do not directly concern her. It is true, she participates in the general excitement of the occasion, witnesses the ceremonies, even helps in the preparations of food, and joins in the dances of the adult women. But she is in no way an integral part of the rites. They concern the boys. At the age of five or six, or earlier, she is betrothed, but here too, while intimately concerned, it is her mother, her mother's brother, and maternal relatives of the future husband who are the actors. She is in the background.

RITES AT FIRST MENSES

881 885 She comes to the foreground when her first menses occur. This is not just a personal matter, of concern to herself or to her immediate family, but it is a ritual and communal event. It is anticipated with eagerness, and the rites are prepared for and participated in by the whole community. Its ritual and social significance is due to the fact that the girl is now considered an adult, and that the marriage rites follow immediately. It marks her entrance into adult female

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881 A feast is held on the day of the ritual washing. The village
616 women of both moieties come, bringing their taro, to the hamlet where the girl lives, and there they prepare it to be baked in the *liga*. The girl herself is present, but does not help in the preparations. Then the women of the *Telenga* moiety give the food that they have brought and prepared to the women of the *Kongkong* moiety, and *vice versa*. The girl is given a bundle of taro specially prepared for her by her father's sister. If the girl is of the *Telenga* moiety, the *Telenga* women advance singing, carrying bundles of taro given to them by the *Kongkong* women, to the place where the girl is
[533] sitting and pile the food up in front of her. They sing:

Nama maagulip igitupmi
maresik weh weh
ngat amni tso ogaluna.[1]

The *Telenga* women then remain sitting by the girl near the pile of food contributed by the *Kongkong* women, who sit a short distance away by their pile of food given by the *Telenga* women. Each group eats a little, and then loads the remainder in their baskets to carry home, where the whole family get their share.

[562] This is one of the few ritual occasions which is dominated by the women. But the relationship of the girl to her father seems to be stressed at this time, as the women in discussing this matter with me always emphasized the fact that the women giving the food to the girl and the members of her moiety are of the same moiety as her father. Although the girl is betrothed and her wedding rites follow shortly, there is no mention that it is her future husband's moiety who is giving her taro.

841 Before describing the wedding rites which come some time during the next month, the subject of menstruation in

[198] [1] This I am unable to translate. Most of the songs of this people are in some obsolete and forgotten language, and they themselves do not know the meaning of the words.

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532 The figures are those of Poinbi's maternal uncle, father, brother-in-law, and two others. The bird is an ordinary one of the bush. There are two snakes, which represent the *tsinanis* snakes of the Sinpop clan. A round design in the centre, *mutenalin*, represents the dawn, or the light just before sunrise, but not the sun itself.[1]

532 562 Every evening while the *malanggan* is being made the men of Penguli and near-by hamlets eat together communally, and every week there is a special feast for the men, for no apparent reason except that it is connected with the *malanggan*. It must be remembered that it is taboo for the women to look at *malanggans*, and that it is only the men who are directly concerned with them. It is interesting to note also that while it is being made there is a drawing together of the men and a separation from the women, in the male communal eating every night. Although the women, as usual, prepare the taro, one realizes very clearly that the undertaking is predominantly a masculine one.

532 437 In two months' time, by the middle of October, the *malanggan* has been carved but not painted.[2] Now the men sit up until past midnight discussing its removal to Logagon and all the necessary preliminary arrangements. The Logagon people have sent word for them to come on a certain day, but they decide to go a few days before this, because they say that they have so much work to do. When they get to Logagon they must paint the *malanggan*, build a house to hold it, and teach the people there the rites. This is their work, and they talk about it with a sort of pride—that they must do their own work and not have others do it.

437 The men have a feast in the late afternoon of the day before they start off on their journey to Logagon. The next

[1] The last time Palou made this *malanggan* was at the time his maternal nephew was circumcised, and the figures on it then represented his dead wife and his dead Sinpop (his clan) relatives.

[2] Kanua was interrupted in the middle of his work and went to a bush hamlet to carve a small *malanggan*, which was a "rush" order.

3:Chinnery G, E-5 (1929)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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423 People enjoying the use of land belonging to a sub-group different from
614 their own invariably make presents of food and coco-nuts at different times to the owners of the land.

614 So widely distributed sometimes are the members of the sub-groups, that it is no uncommon thing during the investigation of a land-matter to find claimants living in villages a great distance from the ground in question.

428 In one pedigree investigated at Madina a man of that place named Arakai, inherited the ground and personal belongings of his father, who had no sister. Arakai also inherited the ground and belongings of his mother's brother, Aulim, although Aulim had a son. The property inherited from Aulim, however, was shared with the son. Usually before he dies, a man makes known his wishes regarding the disposition of property. Arakai, who has no children, has already [562] told every one that on his death Tapua, the son of his sister, is to have his land and property. Women also appear to inherit ground.

In Letatan, a bush group living below Lassu, it was said that property is inherited by own children and sister's children.

During a land investigation at Lasigi and Konagnusgnus payment for land sold to a European was claimed by surviving members of the sub-group of the deceased land-owners. In all these cases claimants proved genealogical relationship. Shares in the payment were also claimed by the children and grandchildren of the dead men and the grandchildren of their brothers (these deceased land-owners had no sisters).

423 In a land investigation held at Lassu for the purpose of buying a
432 piece of land that the natives had agreed to sell, the following information was collected.

614 The area involved was owned by eight different sub-groups, each of which held one portion. A portion known as Pari was owned by the sub-group Pari; Langhalu was owned by Pagali sub-group; Kanawi was owned by Samkila sub-group; Roroi was owned by Roroi sub-group (the survivors of which lived at Langinia); Panula was owned by Sililia sub-group; Dangkolong was owned by Mauga sub-group; Mimilnat was owned by Solemba sub-group, and Lanluminandigo was owned by Tupila sub-group.

The surviving members of these sub-groups claimed payment. Some of them lived in villages many miles away from the ground, but all of them proved genealogical relationship with persons about three generations back to whom the various portions then belonged. Other claimants belonging to sub-groups different from those said to be the owners, and many belonging even to the opposite clan, then appeared, contending that, as their ancestors or parents had been permitted by the early owners to plant food or economic trees on various lots within

5: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1932 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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stones, and when these are hot they are leveled and the food put between them. Leaves and sand are then put over it, and the food remains there until it is baked. Men are working in groups of two or three, but not very continuously, wrapping a fish or a pig in leaves preparatory to baking, or bringing in leaves from the bush to wrap around the food. Their work in this connection is never as steady as the women's work. A man may tend to the liga and then loll around for a half hour or more, until there is something else to do. Frequently the men will take care of the babies, while the mothers scrape the taro. The main work of cooking falls upon the women; although the men do assist, this does not break into the sexual division of labor.

When the women have finished preparing the taro (for a big feast this takes at least three or four hours), and after it has been placed in the liga, the ground on which they have been working is cleaned and they take their ease. Until now they have been working seriously and without stopping, except perhaps to nurse a baby. There has been no talking except for the necessary remarks about the taro. Now they sit in the same place smoking their pipes and chatting. Gossip is exchanged, jokes are told and followed with appreciative laughter, and here and there a woman is engaged in the pastime of searching for lice in a friend's or relative's hair. If a woman of the village has just become pregnant, there will be playful fighting between the women of the opposite moieties. This part of the pregnancy rites occurs whenever there is a group of women present. The men in the meantime are a short distance away, on the beach, in the compound in front of the men's house or some other house, in groups of two or three, smoking and chatting but not in any large group. This period—while the food is baking in the liga—is an easy, convivial, feminine communal occasion, as is the eating which follows for the men.

Description of Feast

Three or four hours later, when the food has been baked, the men and boys carry it in their hands into the cemetery. For the men the cemetery serves as a banqueting hall and most of the men's ritual feasts are held there.[11] Women are never permitted in the cemetery for a feast, or at any other time, except at a burial, and then they leave immediately after the interment.[12]

[11] The economic feasts in payment to workers are not always held in the cemetery, and the malanggon ones are held in a special structure erected for them. The connection of eating in the cemetery with mortuary beliefs must be considered at another time.

[12] However, I was invited to all the feasts, and the invitations were always accepted.